THE

CATECHISM

OF

MAN.

POINTING OUT

FROM

SOUND PRINCIPLES,

AND

ACKNOWLEDGED FACTS,

The Rights and Duties

OF

EVERY RATIONAL BEING.

Am I therefore become your enemy because I tell you the truth? Gal. iv. 16

Now all these things happened unto them for examples, and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the earth are come. 1 Cor x 11.

——That there may be equality. ii. Cor. viii. 14.

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INTRODUCTION.

MAN Is a ſocial animal. In every ſtate in which he is found, he is found aſſociating with thoſe of his kind. Indeed, the deſire of Society is not more ſtrongly prompted by inſtinct, than it is dictated by neceſſity and approved by reaſon. In Society only can he find protection from many of the animals of prey, learn the arts which civilize and refine human life, and practiſe the duties which ſtrengthen his virtue and dignify his nature.

After all the improvements of Society, however, Man is imperfect. In the moſt civilized ſtate ſome will always be found who would rather gratify their paſſions, than improve their virtue, and ſome who would rather acquire riches by fraud, than gather them by induſtry. Even the beſt require ſomething external to check the ebulitions of paſſion, and enforce the dictates of conſcience. This has given birth to civil Government.

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All Laws ſuppoſe that Man is an agent, and that he is a free agent. By the firſt he is capable of acting, and by the ſecond he becomes accountable for his conduct. Deſtitute of ſuch a power, and ſuch a freedom, he could not be an object of Government, there would be no merit in obedience, nor blame in tranſgreſſion, and conſequently there could be neither rewards nor puniſhments, the framing of laws would have been vain and abſurd, and Governor and Subject words without meaning. When we are commanded to fear God and honor the King, that both are in our power is plainly implied.

Examining the different ſubſiſting Governments, in all the quarters of the Globe, the dulleſt man cannot fail to perceive what the moſt partial muſt be forced to acknowledge, that almoſt all of them have trampled on the rights, and do diſregard the happineſs of the people at large. But, if the people at large, the labouring Hind, the induſtrious Farmer, the uſeful Artizan, the ingenious Manufacturer, the enterpriſing Merchant, and the lower, but moſt virtuous part of Land-holders are the great and eſſential parts of every State.—If they are the ſources of its ſtrength, independence and wealth. —If in time of war they fight its battles, and both in war and peace defray, by the ſweat of their brow, or the exertions of their genius, the expences of its Government—If, in ſhort, they are what I mantain them to be, the very vitals of the political body, without which it could not exiſt, far leſs thrive; their Rights ought to be reſpected, and their Happineſs conſulted, as much as thoſe of any order of the State, though wearing a crown, honored with a title, or adorned with a ſtar and garter.

But the rights and happineſs of the people are not the only things which may be affected by the conſtitution of the Government and the manner of adminiſtering it. Hiſtory ſhews that the virtue of the people greatly depends on the degree of civil liberty they enjoy. Deprive them of the latter, and by weakening their minds, you not only greatly unfit and indiſpoſe, but, in many ſituations, you abſolutely preclude them from fulfilling the obligations of the former. If, as was lately the caſe in France, the un-offending huſband-man can be dragged from under his own vine and fig-tree, and be thrown into the gloomy cells of a Baſtile, there to linger out a miſerable exiſtence, at the capricious will of an unprincipled tyrant, whoſe natural cruelty and deſpotiſm, is often much encreaſed by the inſtigations of a Royal Strumpet, or Titled Proſtitute.—If, as is the caſe in our own country, at the preſent moment, the honeſt mariner can be torn from his peaceful purſuits by the ruffian hands of a vagabond-preſs-gang, crammed between the unhealthy decks of a receiving-ſhip, forced aboard a man of war, and, in a diſtant clime perhaps be bereaved of his limbs or his life, in a cauſe of which he is perfectly ignorant, and in the ſucceſs of which he has not the ſmalleſt concern, how ſhall either the one or the other provide for thoſe who depend on their preſence, and induſtry, and life for their ſupport, and proſperity and happineſs. And are we not as much bound by Nature and by God to provide for our virtuous wives, young children and aged parents as we are to gratify the humours and fight the battles of crowned heads. If to defray the expences of the many unneceſſary, long, and ruinous wars, in which the boundleſs vanity, the mad ambition, and their other malignant paſſions engage us, the neceſſaries of life are highly taxed, how ſhall we be able to pay our juſt debts, and diſcharge the duties of humanity? And are we not as

much bound by juſtice and by humanity to pay our debts and ſupply the wants of the poor, as we are to pay taxes? If men are not ſuffered to enjoy civil liberty, they are not ſuffered to provide for their families, to be juſt to their creditors, and to be compaſſionate and helpful to the Poor. By oppreſſion, they are not more certainly rendered miſerable, than they are made immoral. The ſlavery of the body paves the way to the ſlavery of the mind, and the ſlavery of the mind is utterly deſtructive of all generoſity of feeling, and magnanimity of conduct.

All hiſtory ſhews, that in proportion as men have been free, they have been virtuous, and that according as the reign of Tyranny hath prevailed, ſo hath the dominion of Vice. In the early ages of the Roman Commonwealth, the People would not ſuffer even their Kings (who generally think they may be as licentious as their bad hearts incline them and boaſt at the ſame time that they can do no ill,) *to be immoral. For an act that chriſtian ſubjects would, perhaps, reckon a venial fault, they dethroned a King, baniſhed him and all his family, and, in marked abhorrence of the atrocious crimes Kings were capable of committing, inſtantly aboliſhed Monarchical Government.—But in thoſe unhappy countries where Deſpotiſm reigns, the debauching a* Lucretia, *or cohabiting with thoſe who had been debauched before,—cloathing them in the fineſt ſilks,—furniſhing them with the moſt ſplendid equipage,—keeping them in ſumptuous palaces,—and making large proviſion for the baſtard breed of their criminal connection, and that by large ſums ſqueezed from the hard labours and ſcanty pittance of the induſtrious poor, will ſcarce affect a Prince's character.*

How

How very different was the character of the Roman People, (every ſchool boy knows it,) in the time of the Conſuls, from what it afterwards was during the reigns of the deſpotic Cæſars. During the former period, being free, they were temperate and hardy, they loved their Country and feared the Gods. During the latter being enſlaved, they were luxurious and effeminate, venal and irreligious. The loſs of virtue accompanied in Rome, the loſs of freedom, and the ſame cauſe will, in every country, produce the ſame effect.

But the tools and the dupes of deſpotiſm inſiſt, that however much the people may be intereſted in the conſtitution and adminiſtration of the Government, they are utterly uncapable either to form the one, or to direct or judge of the other, but ſuch a libel againſt human nature was never uttered. What poſſibly can we ſuppoſe them fit judges of, if not of their own affairs? While they have the ſenſe of feeling left muſt they not feel where the ſhoe pinches them and where it ſits eaſy? During the adminiſtration of the father of the preſent Pitt, every plan was formed with wiſdom, executed with vigour and crowned with ſucceſs. The conſequence was, the people loved the King, praiſed the Miniſter, and were pleaſed with the Parliament.— This ſhews that the people know when their affairs are well managed, and that they were as ready to applaud an able father, as they are now to condemn his undeſerving ſon.

When the people unite for a redreſs of grievances, their union is called Faction, *their petitions* Sedition. *But no man nor body of men can juſtly be called* Factious *who have juſt grounds of complaint, none* Seditious *who only ſupplicate the redreſs of their wrongs.* They *only are factious who unite that they may be powerful,*

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Society accused for

and are powerful that they may enſlave. It is a fact which common obſervation, without the aid of hiſtory, would eſtabliſh to the conviction of every impartial mind, that licentiouſneſs generally prevails moſt among thoſe who are the firſt to cry out againſt it. If any regard to decency, any love or practice of virtue remains in a Nation, Where would you expect to find it? Not among Kings, Princes, Nobles, and Courtiers, but among the middling and lower claſſes of the People. Let us examine and ſee with our own eyes, whether the former are more chaſte, more humane, more honeſt and more religious than the latter. According to their comparative fewneſs of number, are they more conſiſtent in their conduct, leſs apt to be ſwayed by intereſt, more regular in paying their accounts, guilty of fewer frauds, more ſeldom divorced or become bankrupts. They are much belied if it is ſo. But let the appeal, in this country, be made to the conduct of many of them of the preſent day, in Parliament,—to their Tradeſmen's Books. —to the daily accounts of Criminal Amours at watering places.—to the hiſtory of ſome of our moſt noted Actreſſes. —to the circles at Pharo.—to the records of Doctors Commons and other Courts of law,—and to many of their unnatural Deaths. From theſe the deciſion is wholly in favour of the people, and yet we are continually dunned about the peoples licentiouſneſs. The meanſt dupe of arbitrary power, the moſt abject wretch about the court, or dependent upon it, and all the vile tools of the Miniſtry never want this phraſe in their mouth. Even ſome, whoſe dereliction of all political principle and profligacy of manners are notorious, are ever bawling out againſt thoſe who are much better than themſelves. Civil liberty in their opinion is the greateſt licentiouſneſs. Formed without the feelings which make it appear precious and deſirable, or having ſtifled them, Liberty is the object of their averſion—Its friends, of their hatred.* But

* *Vide at concluſion, an impromptu to Thomas Paine, ſent to the Publiſher.*

But the People considered as a body, are not only more virtuous, but are more enlightened. If you wanted an able Lawyer, an elegant Hiſtorian, or an acute Philoſopher, would you ſeek him among Kings, Princes, Dukes and Lords? fruitleſs in general, in that caſe, would be your labours. It is the People who have been the authors of almoſt every thing either illuminating in ſcience, or uſeful in art. Who diſcovered the circulation of the blood?—The People. *Who the art of Printing?*—The People. *Who the power of the Magnet?*—The People. *Who the uſe of Logarithms?*—The People. *Who the continent of America?*—The People. *Aſk, in ſhort, Who have been the Authors of all the remarkable diſcoveries which have been made? and the anſwer, with a very few exceptions, will ſtill be*—the People. *Without frequent draughts from the People to infuſe freſh vigour into the puny bodies of Nobles, and genius and taſte into their weak minds, what a pitiful race would they quickly become!—what are many of them become already* —The unblushing companions of Grooms and of Sharpers, and the detestable Patrons of Boxers and of Strumpets. *Who that is not loſt to all ſenſe of right & wrong, can help exclaiming,* O TEMPORA! O MORES!!!

The Catechiſm of Man.

CHAP. I.

OF MAN.

Q. WHAT is Man?

A. A reasonable and social animal.

Q. How do you prove that he is endowed with reason?

A. From his powers of observing, remember ing, compar ng, and judging.

Q. How do you prove that he is social?

A. From his natural desire of society, his being always found in society, and his improvement and happiness in it.

Q. Is not the wisdom and goodness of the Almighty Maker, most conspicuous in the nature with w.ich Man is endowed?

A. Yes, for while the evil passions of man, which manifest themselves in society, render government necessary, his reasonable facult.es qualify him for obeying its laws.

Q. Are all men born equal?

A. They are all born perfectly equal in respect of their *rights*, but often very unequal in respect of their *talents*.

Q. What is the consequence of their being born equal in respect of their rights?

A. That the rights of all are equally natural, sacred, imprescriptible, and unalienable, and that

that as life, liberty, and resistance of oppression are three of those rights, no person has a title to kill, enslave, or oppress another.

Q. Does government give man any new rights?

A. No, but it gives greater security, effect, and extent to those he formerly possessed.

Q. What is the consequence of men being born unequal in respect of talents?

A. A vast variety of arts and sciences and new improvements in them every day. — An useful diversity in the condition of Man, and a beautiful gradation in social life.

CHAP. II.

Of Government.

Q. WHAT is a nation?

A. A great number of individuals possessed of a certain country and subject to the same government.

Q. What is government?

A. An institution to regulate the conduct of the individuals of which a nation is composed, and to defend them from foreign attacks.

Q. What is the origin of Government?

A. The goodness of the divine being expressed *by the will of the people.**

CHAP. III.

Of the Right of the People to chuse their Magistrates and to deliberate on other matters of general concern.

Q. HAVE the people a right to chuse their Magistrates.

A. Yes

* S. Peter calls Government an ordinance of Man, 1 Peter, ii. chap. xiii. verse.

A. Yes.

Q. How do you prove that the people have a right to chuse their Magistrates?

A. Reason teaches it, the welfare of the people requires it, and the revealed will of God, expressly authorizes it.

Q. In what part of God's revealed will, do you find it expressly authorized?

A. When the Israelites by the direction of God were travelling through the wilderness, to take possession of the land of Canaan, and to become a free and independent nation, he thus addressed them by his servant Moses, "**Judges and Officers* "*shalt* THOU § MAKE *thee in all thy gates which the* "*Lord thy God giveth thee, throughout thy tribes.*" and again, "‡*When thou art come into the land which* "*the Lord thy God giveth, and shalt possess it, and* "*shalt say,* I § WILL *set a king over me, &c* "—In the first of these passages the right of chusing Magistrates is expressly given, and in the last the actual possession of it is plainly implied.

Q. Did the Israelites ever exercise this right?

A. Whenever it was necessary.

Q. Can you give an instance of it?

A. By the exercise of this right Saul was elected. "*And* ALL THE PEOPLE† *went to Gilgal, and* "*there* THEY MADE *Saul king before the Lord.*" In the same manner David the son of Jesse was raised to the throne by the tribe of Judah at Hebron. "*And the men of Judah* ‖ *came and there* THEY *an-* "*nointed David king over the house of Israel.*" And the election made by the tribe of Judah was soon after ¶recognized and confirmed by all the tribes of Israel.

* Deut. xvi. 18 ‡ Deut. xvii. 14. § By *Thou* and *I* in the passages referred to, is meant *the People at large*. † i Samuel, xi. 15. ‖ ii Samuel ii 4. ¶ ii Samuel iv. 3.

Q. Did not the rulers of Israel derive their right of sovereignty solely from God?

A. In some instances they were named by him, but whether they were so or not, the free choice and ratification of the people was absolutely necessary to render their government legitimate.

Q. Did the rulers of Israel never assume the sovereignty from what is called in modern times *hereditary right*?

A. Never, at least in the early and most virtuous parts of their history.—Moses their first Magistrate was succeeded by Joshua, who was of the tribe of Ephraim.—Joshua was succeeded by Judges of different tribes.—At last when the foolish Israelites desired a King and *God gave them one in his anger** there was not the smallest attention paid to hereditary succession, nay, in direct opposition to it, David was chosen while Ishbosheth the son of Saul was alive.—Adonijah the son of David was older than his brother Solomon, and yet the latter was chosen.—Rehoboam Solomon's oldest son succeeded his father but not by hereditary right, but by the free choice of the People, *And Rehoboam went to Shechem for* ALL ISRAEL,† Commons as well as Nobles, poor as well as rich, *were come to Shechem to* MAKE HIM KING which is a plain acknowledgement that without their consent he had no right to the crown.

Q. Have the people in modern times ever exercized the right of chusing their Magistrates?

A. Often, but I will only mention two instances of it—Little more than two hundred years ago, the people of Holland, after throwing off the galling yoke of Philip II. of Spain, chose William I. Prince of Orange to be their Stathold-

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* Hosea xiii. 11. † 1st. Kings, xii. 1

er, and little more than one hundred years ago the people of this Country, our own Fathers and Grandfathers, when by the bdication of James II. and his consequent expulsion, a King was wanted, made choice of William III. Prince of Orange, the Dutch Statholder, and both they and we have, at different periods, resisted by force the claims of James's son and grandson, successive Pretenders to the office of first Magistrate.

Q. Besides the right of chusing their Magistrates, have not the people also a right to deliberate on other matters of state.?

A. Most undoubtedly.

Q. Does the history of the people of Israel afford any instances of the exercise of this right?

A. Many, when the tribes of Reuben and Gad and the half tribe of Manassah, set up an altar on the side of Jordan and the whole congregation* of Israel were gathered together at Shiloh, they† (the People) sent Phinchas the son Eleazar, and with him ten princes to expostulate with them on the subject: Joshua was still alive, Elders were not wanting, but the business was too important to be left to the management of either the one or the other, or even of both, peace or war depended on its issue, and as in each of these, the happiness or misery of every individual was much concerned, it was but reasonable the opinion of every individual should be consulted. And in the same way the message was sent, it was received, not by a Prince or Secretary of State, but by the whole two tribes and a half. The consequence of such a general consultation was, the business was happily settled, peace preserved, and the horrors of war avoided. — In the same

*Joshua xxii. 12. †verse 13, 14.

manner, in the affair of the Levite and his Concubine, as the honor of all the children of Israel was concerned, the opinion of all was consulted, *Then all the children of Israel** we are told, *went out,* and *the congregation was gathered together, as one man, from Dan even to Beer-sheba, with the land of Gilead,* and being thus assembled, we are farther told, they were called on to †*give their advice and counsel,* concerning the measures which ought to be pursued.‡

Q. These instances are sufficient to prove what you have asserted. — Does the history of other Nations afford any instances of the same thing?

A. Yes, In Greece, in Gaul, and in Britain, long before the very existence of such Parliaments as ours, (and much longer before they had become merely nominal, and the servile tools of a corrupt court) the great body of the people, assembled on an extensive plain, and clad in armour, assisted at the great council of the Nation or to speak more accurately, constituted its essence.

CHAP. IV.

Of the responsibility of Magistrates.

Q. ARE Kings subject to laws?

A. They either are, or ought to be.

Q. What

*Judges xx. 1. †V. 7. ‡It cannot surely be in the least derogatory to the honor of any Magistrate or legislative body to consult the opinion of the people at large. And had this always been done, how many long, bloody, and destructive wars might have been prevented? how many checks on manufactures and commerce avoided? how many oppressive taxes unfelt and unknown? how many honest, industrious poor kept from starving? and how many fathers, husbands, and sons preserved alive to their children, their wives and their parents.

Q. What are the laws to which Kings are, or ought to be subject.

A. The laws of religion, and the laws of the land.*

Q. Do they ever transgress these laws?

A. Often.

Q. To whom are they accountable?

A. For breaking the laws of religion they are more immediately accountable to God, for breaking the laws of the land they are both accountable to God and to the People.

Q. Hath God ever inflicted exemplary punishments on Magistrates for breaking the laws of Religion?

A. Yes, after Solomon's, seven hundred wives had turned away his heart from the God of Israel, and he had built an high place for Chemoth, the abomination of Moab, on the hill that is before Jerusalem, and for Molech the abomination of the children of Ammon, we read † *Wherefore the Lord said unto Solomon, forasmuch as this is done of thee and thou hast not kept my covenant and my statute, which I have commanded thee, I will surely rend the Kingdom*

*That the Magistrates of Israel might never act contrary to Law, from not knowing what the Law was, God thus commanded them, *And it shall be when he* (the King) *sitteth upon the throne of the Kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this Law in a Book, and he shall read therein all the days of his Life.* He was not to have the law transcribed by another, but, the more to impress its contents on his mind, he was to do it with his own hands.—The reading and understanding it was not to be left to Lord Chief Justices, Secretaries of State, or Members of a Privy Council, but he was to do it himself, nor was he to read it occasionally, and study it superficially, but *he was to read therein all the Days of his life.* †1 K. Kings xi. 11.

dom from thee, and will give it to thy Servant.—And so it afterwards happened.—Instigated by worldly policy, Jeroboam made two calves and set up one of them in Bethel, which he commanded the people to worship, a man of God however was sent to cry against it. *And it came to pass we read† when king Jeroboam heard the saying of the Man of God, which had cried against the Altar in Bethel, that he put forth his hand from the Altar, saying, lay hold on him, and his hand which he put forth against him dried up so that he could not pull it in again to him* — Ahaziah fell down through a lattice in his upper chamber, and as if there had been no God in Israel, sent to enquire of Baalzebub the God of Ekron whether he should recover, and this was his sentence,‡ *Therefore thou shalt not come down off that bed on which thou art gone up, but shalt surely die, so he died according to the word of the Lord.*

Q. Have the people ever brought their Magistrates to an account?

A. They have not only brought them to an account, but have cashiered, and otherwise punished them, like other evil doers, for their bad behaviour.

Q. Can you give any instances of it?

A. In the last century Charles I. of England was beheaded, and James II. his Son was banished, and but a few months ago, Louis XVI. of France, after a solemn trial by near eight hundred Judges, was unanimously found guilty, and met with Charles Fate.

Q. What was the great crime of Charles?

A. Taking money from the People without their consent.

Q. What

†1st. Kings xiii. 4. ‡2d. Kings i. 16. 17.

Q. What was the great crime of James?

A. Dispensing with the established laws of the land, and acting in direct opposition to them.

Q. What was the great crime of Louis?

A. Endeavouring to overturn the Constitution, and destroy the Liberty which he had sworn to defend.

CHAP. V.

Of Despotic Governments.

Q. HOW many kinds of Government are there?

A. They may all be reduced to two.

Q. What are they?

A. The despotic and the Free.

Q. What is that you call a despotic government?

A. That which has no rule of action, but the capricious will of the Governor, and no object of action, but the gratification of his pleasure.

Q. What are the distinguishing features of such a Government.

A. Suspicion, fear, distrust and cruelty, exemplified in pænal statutes against some religious opinions and disqualifying statutes against others;—great restraints on the freedom of the press, or the total want of it,—fortified Bastilles,—numerous standing armies ready to fight in the worst cause their Head may direct them,—a base herd of luxurious unprincipled courtiers,—and an unsupportable load of taxes.

A. Can you give an instance of this kind of Government?

The Russian.*

Q. Can you mention any of the oppressions under which the People of Russia groan?

A. They have nothing which they can call their own, for their property, services and liberty, are all at the disposal of their Despot.

Q. Are these oppressions peculiar only to the Russian Government?

A. No,—They abound in almost all the kingdoms of Europe, particularly in Prussia and in Germany with all the ignorance, and poverty, and degradation, and slavery, and imprisonment, and madness† which they naturally produce.

Q. Are such things easily born?

A. No,—To the natural feelings and independent sentiments of man, not debased by slavery, nor perverted by education, they are more insufferable than death.

CHAP.

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*Kate of the North who, as appears from her late Proclamation, thinks she can be pious towards God, while she is unjust and cruel to Men, not contented with tyrannizing over her own subjects, must tyrannize over the kings and subjects of independent Nations. Witness her conduct to the virtuous king and people of Poland, and her attempts to disturb the peace of Sweden and Denmark, by bullying them into hostilities against the French fighting for Liberty.

†The heart of the benevolent Howard was greatly affected when traversing the Prisons in Germany and descending into their damp and dreary cells, he heard the frantic ravings of many wretches long confinement had driven to madness. O how long will man the image of his Creator, continue the the slave of Princes and the dupe of Priests? How long will the unnumbered millions of the human race forbear to avenge with their intellectual arm, their own wrongs and the indignities offered to their nature? Tyrants hear and tremble, for

CHAP. VI.

Of reſiſtance to Deſpotic Governments.

Q. IS resistance to Despotic Governments lawful?*

A. It is not only lawful, but meritorious, well pleasing to God, and fraughted with blessings to men.†

Q. How do you prove that it is well pleasing to God?

A. From his declaring‡ that he was the Author of the revolt of the ten Tribes, from the Tyrant Re-

*Court Sycophants have, in every age and in every Country, ever repreſented reſiſtance againſt tyranny to be reſiſtance againſt God, but nothing is more falſe. Though the ordinance of Government be of God, the executor may be of the Devil and often is. Reſiſtance in this caſe is not againſt the Governor, but the Oppreſſor, and his great power, ſo far from being a good argument, for a tame ſubjection is the ſtrongeſt that can be given for a united and vigorous reſiſtance. Magiſtrates receive power from the People to be exerted for the Peoples good, if they abuſe it, they are as unjuſtifiable as the Man, who, after receiving the King's commiſſion, turns Pirate, and ought to be equally puniſhed.

†Witchcraft, Prieſtcraft, and Kingcraft, have hitherto been crafty enough to dupe the World. The two firſt have loſt their Power, the laſt it is expected cannot, in an enlightened age, retain it long.

‡The revolt of the ten tribes from Rehoboam is worthy the attention of every crowned head and of every oppreſſed people of every country, in every age. On the death of Solomon *all the congregation of Iſrael* (1 ſt. Kings, 12 chap. 3 and 4 verſe) *came and ſpoke unto* Rehoboam *ſaying, thy father made our yoke grevious, now therefore make thou the grevious ſervice of thy father, and his heavy yoke which he put upon us, lighter, and we will ſerve thee.* This one would imagine was a very reaſonable and humble petition and would be readily granted. They did not petition that all taxes might be taken off, but

Rehoboam and from the success with which he hath blessed similar revolts in different ages, particularly that of the Dutch in the sixteenth century, from

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only that they should be made a little lighter, for though the Money was plenty, the People were really poor: instead of circulating to Shechem and the extremities of Palestine, it all centered about Court and in Jerusalem. The People therefore came to the young King to petition a redress of grievances, and had he taken the advice of the old Men, who had been his father's Counsellors, all had been well. *They spake unto him* (vii v.) *saying, if thou will be a servant unto this People this day, and will serve them, and answer them, and speak good words to them, then they will be thy servants for ever.* For such an advice every one of these Counsellors deserved a pension, but such honest men are seldom kings favourites. Scorning an advice the fruit of much wisdom and much experience, the foolish king applied himself to the young men who had grown up with him, and they gave him one perfectly suited to his despotic inclination. *And they spoke unto him* (x. xi. verses) *thus shalt thou speak unto this people that speak unto thee, saying thy father made our yoke heavy but make thou it lighter unto us. Thus shalt thou say unto them. My little finger shall be thicker than my father's loins. and now whereas my Father did lade you with a heavy yoke, I will add to your yoke. My father hath chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions.* This speech, like many other Kings speeches since that period, made the People change their humble petition into a bold remonstrance and practical assertion of their rights, which he did not soon forget. *The people answered the King* (xvi. verse) *saying, what portion have we in David, neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse. To your tents O Israel. Now see to thine house David. So Israel rebelled* (xix. verse) *against the house of David.* This was a grievous beginning to the young King and his new Ministry: to lose ten tribes out of twelve was not easy to be endured: *accordingly an army of an hundred and fourscore thousand Men* (xxi. verse) *is assembled to fight against the House of Israel, and to bring the Kingdom again to* Rhoboam, but lo! a message from on high stops their progress and defeats their purpose. *Thus saith the Lord* (xxiv. verse) *ye shall not go up nor fight against your brethren the children of Israel, return every Man to his House*

from the cruel Philip II. of Spain, and that of the Americans in the present, from our most *gracious* King.

Q. What inferrence do you draw from this?

A. What Judge Blackstone the most constitutional lawyers asserts, and what common sense dictates, that protection and allegiance are reciprocal, and that where the one is not given, the other is not due.

Q. But does not the Apostle Paul enjoin in the strongest manner subjection to the higher powers*

A. He does so, but it is evident he means the powers

House, FOR THIS THING IS FROM ME. Were we to judge of the matter by the maxims of Kings and Courtiers, we would call the ten tribes *rebels*, and so our translators who lived in the times of the arbitrary Stewarts, have actually called them. but the Almighty thought otherwise, for he says *it was from him*, and to suppose that he would be the instigator of rebellion would be blasphemous.

* How lamentable it is to see the pulpit prostituted to the base purposes of kings and despotism, yet it is daily so. To promote their ends the very meaning of the scriptures is perverted. Because the Apostle has said (Romans xiii. chap i. v) *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers*, the courtly Priest aspiring to be a Bishop, or if a Bishop, to be an Archbishop has under the most despotic Government still preached passive-obedience and non-resistance, but the People ought to know that the Apostle teaches no such absurd and cruel doctrines. The word ἐξουσία translated *higher powers*, which he uses, does not denote every Government, but such as have had a legitimate birth, and are administered for the peoples happiness, for ἐξουσία. as the compiler of a Greek Dictionary justly observes *est jus* sive *facultas moralis*. When the Apostle would express mere force he uses δυνάμεις, as in Romans viii. chap. xxxviii. verse. and which the same dictionary compiler says, means *vis activa* sive *facultas naturalis*. but while there are kings and rich benefices at their disposal, the Clergy, regardless of the Apostles meaning, will always preach-Be *subject to the higher powers*, whether they be good or bad.

powers which the original word denotes,—*those that poſſeſs excellency*, are what he himself describes, ‡*not a terror to the good works but to the evil*, and *ministers to the people for good.*

CHAP. VII.

Of free Governments,

Q. WHAT is the other kind of Government you mentioned?

A. The Free.

Q. What is the chief end of a free government?

A. The security of life, liberty and property, and of every thing else dear to man.

Q. What are the distinguishing features of a free Government?

A. Mildness, love and confidence.

Q. Can you give an instance of a free Government?

A. That of the united States of North America.

Q. Can you mention any of the privileges of an American citizen*

A. Yes,—Every man is allowed to worship the God of his Fathers according to the dictates of his conscience, and is not bound to support any minister but his own, for there the unscriptural and oppressive law of Patronage is unknown,—The

‡Romans xiii. 3, 4, * Among the people of the united States of North America ſince they got rid of the King and Parliament of Great Britain who wiſhed to enſlave them, the word *ſubject* is unknown. There every man is a *Citizen*, protected by wiſe, good and *equal* laws. — *Subject* differs in meaning very little from *Slave*, and may be a very fit appellation for men who, on matters of Government, dare not think their own thoughts, nor ſpeak their own words, but muſt think and ſpeak as a King, or a Pit, or a Tippoo Saib, chuſes to direct them.

The laws are made by the people whose conduct they are to regulate, and the taxes are laid on by those, by whom they are to be paid,—And any individual, if he has talents and merit, may rise, whatever be his civil profession, or religious perswasion, to the highest offices and honours of the state.

Q. Are these privileges peculiar only to the citizens of the united states?

A. I believe they are.*

Q. What think you of a free Government?

A. I think, that next to the gospel of peace, it is the greatest blessing on earth, far more valuable than golden treasures, and far more chearing than the solar rays.

CHAP. VIII.

Of obedience to free Governments and respect for Magistrates.

Q. IS obedience to free Governments a duty?

A. A most binding one.

Q. Why binding? *A.* Be-

* Much have kings and emperors been magnified by flatterers and adored by slaves, but who of them is worthy to be compared with citizen Washington, president of the united States? who of them, of any age or country, ever exhibited such an assemblage of great talents and high virtues? who of them ever united in their own character so much of the elegance of a Scholar, of the courage of a Soldier, of the abilities of a Commander, of the wisdom of a Statesman. or the goodness of a Man? Blessed be the American Revolution and Republic which called them into action and blessed be the exertions of every oppressed people who, like the Americans, have the sense to see their rights and the spirit to assert them—It may also be observed, that it is only in a Republic, that Talents and virtues can have the freest scope, and be crowned with the highest honor. A king dreads ability in a subject as much as a malefactor does the day of execution, unless it is exerted in the defence of Prerogative and the subjugation of the People.

A. Because God commands it, the laws which the people have made require it, and the greatest quantity of individual and general happiness cannot be produced without it.

Q. Are the Magistrates of a free Government entitled to any respect?

A. Yes.

Q. Why ?

A. Because it assists them in performing the duties of their office and comforts them in the faithful discharge of it, besides, in respecting them the people respect themselves, for such Magistrates are not only the executors of the law which the people have made, the organs by which it speaks and acts, punishes and rewards, but are the Magistrates of the Peoples choice.

Q. Are other Magistrates entitled to any respect?*

*There is a creature, one Caw, present provost of the beautiful Town of Perth, who commanded one of the Ministers there not to address the following prayer to the Almighty. "Give success to our Kings arms according to the Justice of his cause. Scatter all those who delight in cruel war, and who combine against the best interests of the human race, and in pity to the ignorant, the injured, and the enslaved part of thy rational offspring, grant we beseech thee, that the cause of truth, of justice and of freedom may every where prove triumphant—We rejoice in every account we hear of their progress, and confiding in thy goodness and in the fulfilment of thy Prophecies, we look forward with fond expectation, to the happy period of their full and final establishment. Then the people *shall beat their Swords into Plow-shares, and their spears into pruning hooks, Nation shall not lift up sword against Nation, neither shall they learn War any more.*" — If the candid reader has the humanity of a man, or the charity of a christian, he will not find in this prayer, which breathes universal Philanthrophy, any thing which a good man ought not to utter, and to which the gracious parent of all will not lend a propitious ear, and he will respect the Provest of Perth (who exerted his impotent strength to ruin the young man who used it) according to his deserts.

It is foreign to the object of this undertaking, but the writer of

A. Not all the impudent speeches which tyrannical kings and their ministers, since the creation, have made, nor the unsanctified proclamations which they have published,—Not all the ridiculous charges which corrupt Judges have given, nor the many unjust and cruel sentences which they have passed.—Not all the courtly sermons which servile Priests have preached, nor all the elaborate treatises which their prostituted pens have written.—Not all the learned opinions which cunning lawyers have given from their study, nor all the declamatory speeches which they have delivered in the Court—Nor all the fulsome addresses presented by unprincipled Courtiers.—Nor all the loyal resolutions subscribed by dependent pensioners, placemen or expectants, nor in short, *any thing thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the Earth beneath, or that is in the Water under the Earth,* have yet been able to convince me that they are.

CHAP. IX.

Of Constitutions or Forms of Government.

Q. HAVE all Governments the same form?

A. By no means.

Q. How may they be divided?

A. Into the Monarchical, the Aristocratic, the popular and the mixed.

Q. What do you call the Monarchical form?

A. That which vests the power of making and executing the laws in one person called, Sultan, Emperor or King. Q. Can

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of the above note cannot forego the opportunity afforded him by it, of making a public acknowledgement of his obligations to many of the private but benevolent citizens of Perth. In mentioning one of his Friends, *the generous youth, Mr. John Allison*, he knows he will not be thought the less impressed with the kindness of any of the rest. May every breeze around them breathe health, and every sound be the echo of the purest joy.

Q. Can you give an instance of this form of Government?

A. The Prussian.

Q. What do you call the Aristocratic form?

A. That which vests the power of making and executing the laws in a few, called Grandees, Peers, Nobles, Barons, Lords spiritual or temporal.

Q. Can you give an instance of it?

A. The Venetian.

Q. What do you call the popular form?

A. That which vests the power of making and executing the laws in the People at large: distinguished by a base Apostate from patriotism and pensioned advocate for Kings and Tyranny by the contemptuous appellation of the *Swinish multitude.*

Q. Can you give an instance of this form?

A. The rising republic of France.

Q. What do you call the mixed form.

A. That which vests the power of making the Laws in the King, Lords and Commons, and the power of executing them in the King.

Q Can you give an instance of this?

A. The British constitution.

Q. Which of these forms is best?

A. That which promotes the peoples prosperity and happiness in the *highest degree and at the least expence.*

Q. Where does this form exist?

A. A late popular writer hath asserted among the citizens of the united states of North America, who lately threw off the British Yoke and erected themselves into a free and independent Nation.

Q. Have they flourished greatly since that period?

A. Beyond the most sanguine expectation of their greatest friends, one proof of which is, their having nearly doubled their population.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Why Governments differ in their form.

Q. WHAT makes one government to differ from another in its constitution or form?

A. The sovereign will of the People.

Q. What do you mean by the sovereign will of the people?

A. The will of the majority of a nation.

Q. Has every individual of a nation a right to express his opinion of the existing constitution and Government, and his will in case of a change of either?

A. Most assuredly, unless incapacitated by age insanity or crimes.

Q. From whom derived he this right?

A. From the great Author of his being.

Q. For what end?

A. To promote the creator's glory, the welfare of society, and his own happiness.

Q. Can it ever be prescribed by time, or justly cancelled by tyrants?

A. No,—It is coeval with human nature, and ought to be lasting as civil Government.

Q. Can a nation at any time change the form of its Government?

A. Whenever the sovereign will of the People inclines it.

Q. Have nations ever exercized this right?

A. In innumerable instances.

Q. Did the people of Israel ever do it?

A. Yes.

Q. But were they not condemned for it by God?

A. He did not condemn them for the exercize of the right itself, but for the improper use of it, —The chusing *a Kingly instead of a Republican Government.*

FINIS

If the Public approve of the Principles in the preceeding publication, and the manner of teaching them, the Author purposes to publish a second part, explanatory of the principles of the British Constitution and of the duties of a British Subject.—Gladly would he contribute his Mite, according to the abilities with which his Maker hath endowed him, to abolish Slavery of every kind, to regenerate the Constitution of every Government not founded on the Rights of Man, and to better the condition and improve the virtues of his fellow Creatures.

IMPROMPTU

TO

THOMAS PAINE.

WHILST railing Foes, who *know thee not*,
Employ their Tongues in vain;
Who *no one* Virtue having got,
Love *others* to defame.

Whilst *Princes, Judges, Bishops, Peers*,
Thy *Head* and *Heart* condemn;
Thou art, my Friend, it plain appears,
A God compar'd to them.

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